

BIRTH OF A SATELLITE --- PHASE I

A vital factor in the drama which concluded with the communist seizure of power in eastern Europe after World War II was the struggle among non-communist parties of the area. The nations of eastern Europe were under the influence of three types of democratically oriented parties. These were the democratic parties of the center, which were founded on the traditions of western Parliamentarism; Marxist parties, which were mainly concerned with the improvement of conditions under which the new industrial population was developing; and the peasant parties.

The latter groups consisted of the peasants of eastern Europe who took advantage of the political flux to band into parties organized on a class basis and with a conservative program.

During the period between wars and even during the Nazi occupation the peasant leaders as well as the moderate parties of the left opposed communism and desired democratic reform. At the same time, however, they attempted to cultivate the friendship of the Soviet Union. Though there was collaboration between the socialist and agrarian elements, petty jealousies and conflicting interests revolving about the issue of nationalization prevented them from uniting on issues other than resistance to the Nazi invasion. After the abrogation of the German-Soviet treaty of friendship in 1941, the small and heretofore insignificant communist parties of the eastern European nations joined in this anti-Nazi coalition, and their cohesive strength soon led to control of the resistance movements.

The socialists, for their part, harbored little love for the communists but greatly distrusted the agrarian parties. Thus, they readily joined with the communists in opposition to the peasant movement following the Red Army's liberation. Faced with the united opposition of the socialists and the communists, who were supported in their efforts by the presence of Soviet troops, the peasant parties had little chance of wielding any power in the formation of the post-war governments.

The socialist-communist coalition, though cooperating with the agrarians in the fight against the Nazis, by 1944 had gained control of the underground resistance movements. As the tide of war moved against the Nazis, and as the national resistance movements met with increasing success, the well-knit communist organizations saw that a means of uniting the population in support of the anti-Nazi, pro-communist movements must be found. Toward this end, they set up local councils, mostly communist-controlled in liberated areas. This move was a prelude to the establishment of national governments sympathetic to communism. These local councils,

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wielded almost unlimited power, arrested people, confiscated and redistributed private property, and even passed and executed death sentences in a summary mock procedure. Thus on a local level, the communists began their efforts to sovietize the nations of eastern Europe.

Later, the communist-backed local councils formed new coalitions on national bases. Matyas Rakosi, ruler of Hungary for the Soviet Union, in a remarkably revealing speech made in February 1952, describes the National Front phase of the communist seizure of power in east Europe: "As did the communist parties of all the other countries enslaved by Hitler, the Hungarian Communist Party, following the teachings and guidance of Comrade Stalin, organized an anti-Fascist coalition with the collaboration of anti-Hitler peasants, petty-bourgeoisie...in fact, of all those who were prepared to take part in this struggle for the liberation of the nation... We began our work by organizing the Hungarian National Independence Front - the coalition of parties and elements opposed to both Nazi imperialism and feudalism."

It is not at all certain that these National Fronts met with the immediate approval of the people, for Mr. Rakosi candidly admits that "the armed forces of the Soviet Union were responsible for the fact that the counter-revolutionaries did not dare resort to...bloodshed to restore their rule".

The communists in Rumania rapidly overcame their difficulties in setting up the National Front in 1944 after the Red Army broke through the German positions in Moldavia. Purges followed, and in the appointment of new government officers the communists had the advantage since their candidates were supported by the Soviet Military Command. The continued resistance of King Michael to the formation of a communist front brought about Vishinsky's famous visit to Bucharest, which ultimately resulted in the dissolution of the coalition government and the establishment of the Goga communist-controlled government.

In Albania, on the other hand, the communists had none of the difficulty encountered in Rumania because the National Liberation Army was, in fact, a communist army, which in 1944 set up a provisional government, the "National Liberation Front" headed by Hoxa. With no powerful peasant or socialist opposition to contend with, the Albanian communists easily seized control of the tiny nation.

The presence of the Red Army to a large extent accounted for the speed with which the coalition fronts were set up. Another factor was the inability of the western members of the Allied Control Commissions, which had been established in the east European States in conformity with the Yalta Agreement and the respective armistice arrangements, to fulfill their duties. The principal task of these Control Commissions was to see that democratic elections might take place. But the work of the western representatives on the Commissions, particularly in Hungary and Poland, was throttled by the Russians. A former Hungarian Minister to Italy, Stephen Kertesz, notes: "As established by the Armistice Agreement, the Control Commission was under Russian chairmanship, with American, British and

Russian sections. Chairman was Marshall Klementy Voroshilov, a close friend of Stalin. The Commission thus was completely dominated by the Russians. The British and Americans were in practice only nominal members. Not even copies of the Hungarian notes and other documents were transmitted to the American and British sections".

In circumventing the function of the Control Commissions, the communists strengthened the national front movement which had two objectives: To secure positions within the coalition government which wielded the greatest power, and to prevent, by all possible means, the rise of any effectual opposition.

Hungary and Rumania were the most difficult nations which the communists had to contend with in the process of gaining key ministerial positions. In Hungary, the communists in the summer of 1945 were only able to win about 18 per cent of the vote, but they managed to gain control of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (police). The next step was to gain control of the army.

The process of infiltration in Hungary was not much different from that which took place in the other eastern European countries in 1945-48. With the key ministerial positions in their grasp, the communists controlled the means of communications and could frustrate the attempts of the socialist parties to organize effectively. They also controlled the armed forces of the nation, becoming masters of the internal situation.

By 1947, the socialist parties had realized their mistake, but their doom had been sealed. Arrests of key opposition figures and purges of socialist ranks were quickly carried out by the controlling communists. In Hungary, the transition to a People's Republic was accomplished with no great difficulty once the ground-work had been laid. In Rumania King Michael was compelled to abdicate, set up a quisling government under Gheorghiu-Dej and Groza who were controlled by Stalin's former personal agent, Ana Pauker, before a People's Republic could be proclaimed in February 1948. In Albania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Poland, the process was even more quickly and easily completed. But in one eastern European nation, Czechoslovakia, all the skills and techniques perfected by the communists had to be applied before that nation succumbed to "Sovietization" in 1948. The country had a relatively high standard of living and of education, a lively nationalism, and a fairly strong democratic feeling.

By 1945, the first phase of the communist program was accomplished; a National Front was established with the communist Gottwald as deputy premier. In the elections of May 1946, the communists succeeded in obtaining 38 per cent of the votes cast, and as a result took the premiership and six of the ministries -- Finance, Information, Agriculture, Interior, Internal Trade, and Social Welfare. Having banded together in a National Front government, the socialist parties and the communists outlawed the former rightist parties including the Agrarians, so the latter had no chance of officially influencing the elections of 1945-46.

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In 1947, the Czech Republic seemed, superficially at least, to be enjoying economic prosperity, and the benefits of constitutional freedom. But the ground-work had been laid. The communists, by virtue of their control of the Ministry of the Interior, were responsible for the licensing of all political parties in the National Front. Technically, there was no opposition party, only the National Front. As 1947 drew to a close the communists began to use this licensing power for their own purposes. A despatch from the New York Times Prague correspondent, Raymond Daniell, printed in the October 16, 1947 issue points out: "The National Front has taken on an aura of sanctity and every ministerial act or utterance is judged according to whether it is in the spirit of the National Front. Almost any deviation from the party line is denounced as treason to the coalition".

Between October and the end of the year, the communists began the systematic removal of non-communist police officials, substituting for them loyal members of the party. In January of 1948, the Communist Party deliberately began to stir unrest in the ranks of labor by demanding greater representation within the National Front for labor organizations and further nationalization of industry. Both moves appealed greatly to the industrial workers, and gained a great deal of support for the Communist Party.

Having laid the groundwork carefully, the communists had only to decide when to complete the revolutionary process. In all probability, they could have waited until such time as Benes resigned and the other parties of the National Front disintegrated under the pressure of communist tactics, before striking the final blow. If they had waited, they might have avoided the dramatic coup that took place in February, but two factors forced their hand: first, the upcoming elections probably would have meant a loss in popularity for the Communist Party; and second, the Marshall Plan might tend to detract from Czech dependence upon the Soviet Union in economic matters. Thus the end of February was decided upon by the communists as the moment to strike.

It should be stressed at this point that the communists controlled the army through the Ministry of War, the police through the Ministry of the Interior, and the means of communication through the Ministry of Information. In addition, the communists had as allies the labor unions which they controlled, and a few well-chosen crypto-communists in other parties upon whom they could depend.

Communist Party members demanded greater nationalization and organized labor rallied to support their views, causing the members of the Cabinet representing other parties to resign and the non-communist members of the Parliament to refuse to participate in the debates on the matter. The police were issued rifles, the means of communication such as the radio were seized and used by the communists to direct the machinery of the coup, a national strike was called, and the army was readied for any emergency. Action Committees were established as unofficial agencies of the Communist Party for the purpose of exercising vigorous control over the existing divergent forces.

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Dr. Benes, up to this time had tried to maintain close and friendly relations with the Soviet Union. Now, faced with the danger of open bloodshed, he had no choice but to accept the resignation of the National Front cabinet and approve the communist-picked group consisting of Communist Party members and their carefully chosen puppets. Once the cabinet was secured, the communists proceeded to purge the Parliament of their most violent opponents, and the coup d'etat was successfully completed. As happened in Hungary, an effective opposition was eliminated through the purging of the parties of the left, and the National Front became a synonym for the Communist Party.

Conceived in subservience to the Soviet Union, and dedicated to the proposition that none shall rule but the communists, a satellite was born.

SECTION III

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HOW THE COMMUNISTS MAINTAIN POWER IN THE SATELLITES -- PHASE II

There is always a point reached in the sovietization of a satellite when the political scales tip away from the delicately maintained democratic equilibrium establishing a balance in favor of the communists. In Rumania this happened when King Michael was compelled to give way to the Grosse government. The February coup d'etat in Prague is another illustration of the manner in which the communists managed to gain the advantage. It is at this point that a remodeled national front is established, apparently consisting of parties other than the communists, but in reality absolutely controlled by Kremlin-controlled puppets. Having seized uncontested control of the national government and its coercive agencies, the communists are in a politically advantageous position which is not easily altered.

Members of non-communist parties belonging to the national front are carefully chosen by the Reds as completely trustworthy and amenable to the dictates of the Party line. The Czech Social Democrat, Zdenek Fierlinger, who was instrumental in the communist seizure of power in his country, can be cited as a typical crypto-communist. So, in all probability, is Pietro Nenni, the Italian left-wing socialist, who might perform the same disservice to his nation should the communists attempt to overthrow the democratic government of Italy. With the cooperation of such quislings the communists are able to control the composition of other political parties operating around them. First the leaders of the surrounding non-communist parties are purged. Then the diluted and disorganized parties are either "liquidated" or merged with the Communist Party. Rakosi, the Hungarian satellite dictator describes this process succinctly: "On seeing the progress we (the communists) were making, the 'left-wing' Social Democratic leaders embarked upon a bold venture. In order to save what still could be saved...they excluded their most compromised leaders and expressed their wish to convene a special party congress at which their merger with the Communist Party would be declared... The merger of the two parties ... was brought about ... And thus, the organized unity of the working class under the leadership of the Hungarian communists was realized". In Czechoslovakia and other eastern European satellite nations, non-communist parties still exist, but only at the pleasure and command of the communists.

Once they have the surrounding government and its ministries completely under their control, the communists are enabled to consolidate their power in all phases of national life, political, economic, and social. They bring about the complete nationalization of industry, initiate a movement in the direction of collective farming and establish youth, industrial, agricultural and other organizations at local levels which are tied into local party agencies. Klement Gottwald, the Czech carpet leader, notes the existence of these auxiliary organizations and their subservient relationship to the Communist Party: "We have (in Czechoslovakia) a massive Communist Party which is generally recognized as the leading force. It is the political brain, the political motor which drives our whole life. Beside the Communist Party there are still other parties here. Apart from the political parties, we have, as permanent instruments with which we must reckon, the great national interest organizations, the trade union organization, the agricultural organization, cooperative and youth organization, the Sokol gymnastic organization, in short, a series of other supraparty mass organizations which in

their entirety embrace the actual majority of our people, adult and youth. All these organizations together form the National Front and have their own National Front organs, the action committees. All these organizations our party leads and influences: it directs their activity". (Italics added).

As the government of the satellite state controls the people, the communists control the government. This is as true of the satellite nations as it is of the Soviet Union. The key party figures occupy the top positions in the government. The president of the Czech government, for example, Gottwald, is also the leader of the party. Thus, since the line is established by the party, the satellite governments become mere instruments for carrying out Moscow's policies. To be sure, the constitutions promulgated by the communist satellite governments do not admit the domination of the party, but it is the function of these constitutions to conceal the truth behind a smokescreen of feigned idealism.

How completely the communists dominate the total government apparatus in the satellites can be seen from the situation in Czechoslovakia. There the power does not reside in the representative Assembly as the constitution declares, but in the president and the government, or (since the key persons are more or less the same) in the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. The Party controls all institutions of government — the president and government, the National Assembly and Slovak organs, local courts and national committees, as well as the National Front, its constituent mass organizations and its action committees.

Trade unions in the satellites — as in the U.S.S.R. — are no longer the free bargaining agents of the workers. Instead, they have become communist tools. The structure of the trade union movements has been simplified and centralized. Small unions have been merged and are subject to strict centralized discipline. At the head of the whole hierarchy is the central executive committee, firmly controlled by reliable communists. The total power of the state is thrown behind the unions. The unions are, in essence, part of the state machine.

With regard to the judicial machinery, none of the satellite courts provide legal recourse for those unjustly accused or those deprived of the liberties theoretically afforded them by their communist-inspired constitutions. In Czechoslovakia, as in most other eastern European countries, the courts are "popular" because they have lay people as judges who are either carefully "elected" by the local population or directly chosen by the Communist Party. According to the Czech constitution, these courts base their decisions on the constitution. However, the courts, like those in the U.S.S.R., are auxiliary, not independent, branches of government, and must follow the general line of government policy.

As a tentacle of the Party octopus, the satellite government uses several means to maintain its power and thus the power of the communists. There is nothing crude about the methods used by the communists, for each step they take is carefully pre-examined for its potential psychological effects upon the people. The citizens are kept in a perpetual state of fear: fear of "capitalistic imperialism", fear of not reaching production quotas, and fear of the secret police. On the other hand, conformists belonging to the proper communist approved organizations receive benefits which are relatively large. The worker in the satellites is constantly under pressure, realizing that he must fulfill his production norm or perform some communist-inspired service to the satellite government if he wants to eat well or earn a weeks rest in the country.

As the principal domestic agent of fear, the secret police have as their prime objective the discovery and suppression of rebellion while it still exists only in the minds of men. The traditional duty of the police, to enforce the common law, has been replaced by their concern with a man's capacity for production, his adaptation to the new regime, his willingness to work, his obedience to the new laws, his political record, and even his will power. To harbor any ideas of opposition to the communist regime is a positive indication that the worker is not a sound part of the production mechanism.

Although the work of the secret police is mainly concerned with the general population, one of its most important duties in both the satellites and the Soviet Union is to supervise the functions of the government. In all of these countries each ministry has working in it a member of the ministry which is responsible for secret police functions. He is responsible only to his own ministry which is headed by a trusted party member. After the coup in Czechoslovakia, the government was reorganized on a communist supervised basis. At first the communists were not firmly established in key positions in the government. For this reason all Czechoslovak ministries had to be reorganized. In every ministry the communists placed a representative of the secret branch of the Interior as Deputy-Minister. This secret branch later became the independent Ministry of State Security, the most important ministry of all. The Deputy-Ministers are in direct contact with the personnel branch of the Party, the Cadre Commission. Each Deputy Minister maintains a secret number of watchers and informers in his ministry who have great power. Because the entire network of satellite secret police forces is centrally directed from the Ministry of State Security in Moscow, no one in the satellite state, not even the government or the party which controls it, is free of careful and continuous scrutiny. There are no exceptions to Stalin's rules.

The foreign policies of the satellite states are simply extensions of the Soviet Union's policy. It is the intention of the satellite rulers to convince to their controlled populations the notion that conditions in capitalist countries are much worse than at home, that the "brotherly" Soviet Union is protecting the "peace-loving" nations of eastern Europe from "western imperialism". This line is constantly played up in the satellite press. In Hungary, for example, readers were recently told that "The U. S.S.R. not only observes Hungary's independence but helps to defend it. Only the support of the U.S.S.R. enables Hungary to resist the base aggression of the imperialist..." In a similar vein, Bulgaria's Otechestven Front (on January 16, 1952) hailed the 1948 Bulgarian-Rumanian Mutual Defense Agreement as a bulwark against "western aggression", and further stated: "This agreement, as well as all similar agreements which unite the People's Democratic countries with the great Soviet Union are mighty barriers to the criminal plans of the warmongers".

At every opportunity, in the controlled press, radio, and even in the public school textbooks, the nations of the west have become inseparably linked with imperialism and warmongering. According to M. S. Handler, the New York Times foreign correspondent who returned from Czechoslovakia in 1949, "...to keep the people in a constant state of alert against the 'imperialists' ... (who) are represented as rapacious wolves crouching to pounce on the hardworking, honest, eastern European Socialist states the moment they falter in their task of building socialism... is the chosen weapon used to destroy the influence of the west and condition the minds of eastern Europe to deny all things western..."

On an economic level, the satellite communists are entrenching their positions through nationalization of industry collectivization of agriculture, and elimination of economic classes in the population which are not sympathetic to the new order. In most of the satellites, the nationalization of industry is almost complete, the state having absolute control over labor and the means of production. Collectivization in most of the satellites has been a slow and painful process because the peasants are resisting all attempts by the communists to compromise their independence. Aside from the peasants and the industrial workers, there exists another economic strata - that of the artisan, the small entrepreneur, the professional man. This class of individualists must be either liquidated or made amenable to communism since they are potential "enemies of the state". According to Eduard Taborsky, former Secretary to Benes, "comparatively little actual physical liquidation is used; most of the undesirables are settled by simple economic destruction - by taking over their workshops and other premises for 'more important' tasks and by forcibly allocating the manpower thus 'freed' to 'vital' production, such as coal mines, or to forced labor camps if necessary".

Dana Adams Schmidt, New York Times reporter who had to leave Czechoslovakia after being branded a spy by the Czech communist government describes other methods of control: "Certain groups are favored, more at the expense of the disinherited than by any increase in the total wealth - principally, industrial and transport workers and miners and agricultural laborers. Basically, this has been done by preferential rationing... Contrariwise, the bourgeoisie... composed of entrepreneurs, artisans, professional men and peasants owning more than fifteen hectares of land - receive no clothing ration cards. These groups have been consigned to economic extinction".

One more aspect of communist entrenchment in the satellites is well worth noting, since the ultimate success of the Kremlin in the satellite states depends upon it. "Mental Bolshevization" is the term frequently used to describe the attitude which the communists are bent on forcing the people of the satellite states to adopt. This involves a struggle for the minds and souls of men, and as such it involves two aspects of satellite social life: education and religion. If a man is converted and comes to fully believe in the false religion of communism, he is no longer a potential enemy of the Kremlin: the man who has become mentally bolshevized is one in whom the Party can put its trust.

By virtue of its control over the ministries of education, the satellite governments have revamped the education systems to suit their purposes. Children are taught in communal nurseries, as members of pioneer groups where they get their first formal training in the religion of communism.

In order to expedite the propagation of the communist faith by use of the educational weapon, the satellite populations have been confronted with a communist led drive to secularize the schools. The communists contend that schools which are operated by religious institutions attempt to "separate students from the creative influence of people's democracy". (I. Laponogov, The Hungarian Democratic Republic at a New Stage, Moscow, 1949, p. 14.) Opposition to the efforts of the communists in this direction however has been vigorous and, although preliminary moves have been made which will ultimately lead to the abolition of religious teaching, no final steps have been taken in this matter. In Hungary especially, by virtue of the Catholic church's strong position, has the opposition to secularization been strenuous. In that nation, Cardinal Mindszenty in May 1948 threatened to excommunicate anyone supporting a communist measure nationalizing the schools. Despite such opposition the communists nationalized the schools, abolished the compulsory teaching of religion in the schools, and tactfully asked the parents if they preferred to continue the religious education of their children. Ninety per cent of the parents answered affirmatively, and so religious

Thus, although the teaching of religion in the schools is becoming increasingly difficult in the three satellite states which have sizeable Catholic populations, Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, and the communists are continuing an unrelenting struggle to completely secularize the schools, religious education is still permitted a tenuous existence until such time and the communist opportunists deem it necessary to eliminate this bulwark against materialism.

Naturally, all aspects of religion have suffered in the satellite states. Facts concerning the expropriation of land, the jailing of members of the clergy of various faiths, and the attempts on the parts of the communists to link religion and those who are religious with sinister plots against the state. The communist battle against the church was waged with the same terrible singleness of purpose as their battle against democratic political institutions. First the united front presented by the clergy of many faiths was disrupted by the defection of those unable to resist the challenge of communism. Then, the ranks of the religious were purged of their leadership and the religious groups found it necessary to compromise with the communists. Finally, the numerically weaker religious groups formed the inevitable United Front with the other communist sponsored organizations. In Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland, the strength of the Catholic Party in terms of its size and adherence to a hierarchical form of organization was better able to withstand the communist onslaught than the smaller and less well-knit Protestant groups. Hungary's dictator, Rakosi, notes these methods in a recent speech: "... the struggle against reaction hiding behind the shield of the Church often constituted serious difficulties. The bulk of the Church leaders took a stand against (People's) Democracy from the very first moment. The opposition was particularly strong in the Catholic Church whose estates were seized in the course of the first land distribution. From 1945 to 1948 the Churches fought against us with a unified front. However, as we gradually gained among the rural population, we were able to intensify our struggle against the Churches. Our first step was to disrupt the unified reactionary front of the Churches. By taking advantage of the democratic possibilities in the Lutheran and Calvinist Churches we were able to mobilize parishioners sympathizing with us. At their request, an agreement was reached in 1948 which made possible the peaceful coexistence of the People's Democracy and the Churches... As far as the Catholic Church was concerned the situation was different. The leaders of this Church, maintained close connections with the American imperialists... However, the Hungarian People's Democracy was on the alert and Cardinal Mindszenty was put on trial. At the trial the activities of Mindszenty and his accomplices were revealed, and it became evident that they wanted to restore not only the old order of the capitalists and landed proprietors, but also the loathsome Hapsburg dynasty..."

These are the means and ways by which the communists retain their power in the satellites. Their's is essentially a process of tearing down the ideals and beliefs which had been built up over a period of centuries. The soul of the religious in the satellites is tormented by the communist offensive against religion, and the substitution of religion by materialism. The physical and mental well-being of these satellite people is constantly tampered with by the communists through the clever use of the pleasure-pain technique. By education, by propaganda, by physical and mental torture, by constant stresses and strains, by production norms, and lack of consumer goods, by police terror and fear of "imperialists", in other words, by constant and perpetual pressure, the satellite peoples are kept in check, too tired, too weary to seriously resist the heel of the oppressor, the Soviet Union.

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COMMUNIST "UNITED FRONT" TECHNIQUE

I. INTRODUCTION

The formation of "united fronts" is an essential part of Communist technique. In countries where the Communists hope to attain power, their first step is, invariably, to invite non-Communist elements to collaborate with them in a program acceptable to all. As soon as this combined front has gained office and the position has been consolidated, the Communists gradually eliminate their non-Communist supporters and eventually establish a dictatorship to carry out policies bearing no relationship to the original program.

II. A. Origins

The technique of the "united front" is based on Leninist-Stalinist theory. In his treatise on "Left-wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder" (Selected Works, 1920) Lenin wrote:

"The more powerful enemy can be conquered only by exerting the utmost effort, and by necessarily, thoroughly, carefully, attentively and skillfully taking advantage of every, even the smallest, 'rift' among the enemies, of every antagonism of interest among the bourgeoisie of various countries, and among various countries, and among various groups or types of bourgeoisie within the various countries, by taking advantage of every, even the smallest opportunity of gaining a mass ally, even though this ally be only temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable and conditional. Those who do not understand this do not understand a particle of Marxism, or of scientific modern Socialism in general."

This ruthless use of "mass allies" was also advocated by Lenin in his Discussion of Self-Determination Summed-Up (1916) in which he stated that

"We would be very poor revolutionaries if, in the great proletarian war for emancipation and Socialism, we did not know how to utilize every popular movement against each separate disaster caused by imperialism, in order to sharpen and extend the crisis."

Stalin, in his Foundations of Leninism (1924) described the main forces of the world revolutionary movement as "the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country, the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in all countries" and added that its main reserves, from among whom, presumably, were to be drawn the "united front" allies, were "the semi-proletarian and small peasant masses in the developed countries, (and) the liberation movement in the colonies and dependent

countries." The ultimate aim of such alliances was made plain by Lenin (Selected Works, Vol. IX, p. 137). He held that

"the class which took political power into its hands did so knowing that it took this power alone. That is part of the concept (of the) dictatorship of the proletariat... This does not mean that the power of this one class, the class of the proletarians, which does not and cannot share power with any other class, does not need the support of an alliance with the laboring and exploited masses of other classes for the achievement of its aims."

B. Tactics of the "United Front"

Until comparatively recently the "united front" technique was most generally used in the national political sphere. The Communist objective in this sphere is to attain political power by means of alliances with other Left-wing groups. When this objective has been obtained the Communists gradually discard the non-Communist elements, whose support has helped them to power. The first stage of this process is generally the appointment of a key Party man to the post of Minister of the Interior, with control of the police, and the creation of a strong secret security force in charge of the Communists. The way is then open for the elimination or absorption of other parties, by such methods as treason trials, against political opponents, party splits and mergers, and the introduction of Communist puppets into other party hierarchies. The results are always the same: parties which have collaborated with the Communists disappear as genuine organizations as soon as the Communists have obtained office, and the non-Communist politicians who have attempted to co-operate find, to their cost, that the Communists, once in power, tolerate no rivals.

III. "UNITED FRONTS" IN EASTERN EUROPE AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

A study of developments in the Eastern European countries since 1945 clearly illustrates the tactics used by Communist "united fronts", and also the reasons for which these are formed. There is no doubt, of course, that the presence of Soviet armies in these States was a decisive factor in securing the desired dictatorship; but the formation of Democratic Front coalitions was an essential part of the process.

A. Poland offers a notable example of the efficacy of the technique. In December 1944, the Communists, then a small minority, formed a "government bloc" of parties, consisting of the Socialists, Communist-inspired "Lublin" Peasant Party, and the Democrats (a Party for intellectuals formed under Communist auspices), besides their own Workers' Party. In November, 1945, the activities of the Independent Socialist group of M. Zulawski were

banned and its leaders arrested. This was made possible by the Socialist puppet leader, M. Cyrankiewicz, working under M. Berman, a prominent Communist member of the Polish Politbureau. A series of purges of increasing intensity followed during the next three years and a committee was set up to study ways of merging the party with the Communists. This was achieved in December 1948, when M. Cyrankiewicz described the new party born of the union as "a Marxist-Leninist party, revolutionary and international, and therefore expressing most fully the national interest of the Polish State". Many of the original Socialist leaders were eliminated. Some, such as Bobrowski, went into exile; others, less fortunate, such as Dubiel, one-time Vice-Minister of the Regained Territories, were imprisoned.

The genuine Polish Peasant Party did not at first join the United Front. The Communists undermined it, however, by a series of trials, which claimed to prove a connection between M. Mikołajczyk, leader of the Party, and the underground organization of a "foreign power". They used the Left wing of the Polish Peasant Party, led by M. Wycech, as a means of destroying the party from within, but the latter's attempts to persuade the party to join the government bloc in 1946 were rejected at a party congress. The Communists then further undermined the party by the trial and arrest of prominent members, such as Count Grocholski, M. Araszkiewicz and M. Boguslawski. The final break-up came when M. Mikołajczyk and some of his colleagues fled in October 1947, to avoid arrest and trial. On the 8th May, 1948, the remaining "purified" Peasant Party announced its fusion with the Communist-inspired "Lublin" Peasant Party and this United Peasant Party, under a fellow-travelling minority leadership, lingers on even today, for propaganda reasons, in order to attract the votes of the large peasant population.

B. Hungary

A United Front competed in the Hungarian general elections of November 1945. Of the votes cast for the coalition, the Smallholders' Party obtained 57%, the Social Democrats 17.6% and the Communists 16.9%. Despite their relatively small poll, the Communists nevertheless claimed the Deputy Premiership for M. Rakosi, as well as the Ministries of Social Welfare, Communications and the Interior. They were thus in control of the police and, by skillful manipulation of the voting at the expense of the Social Democrats, they obtained 22% of all votes cast in the elections of August 1947 and became the most important party. They also made use of a split in the Smallholders' Party to secure the expulsion of M. Sulyok and 20 other "reactionaries" from that party. In February 1947 Russian intervention resulted in the arrest of the party's peasant leader, M. Kovacs, and in June M. Nagy, the Premier, was charged with "complicity". He refused

to return to Hungary to answer these charges and the Smallholders' Party then virtually disintegrated.

Next the Social Democratic Party, with the connivance of one of its leaders, M. Szakasits, underwent a series of purges, in the course of which two of its leaders, M. Peyer and M. Ban, escaped from Hungary. In June 1948 the Party fused with the Communists. The last stage was reached early in 1950 when Szakasits and three of his associates who had helped to sell the Socialists to the Communists, namely M. Gyorgi Marosan, M. Istvan Ries and M. Zoltan Horvath, were in their turn eliminated.

The Catholic Democratic People's Party under M. Barankovics was the next to go under. The arrest and trial of Cardinal Mindszenty was followed by the flight of the party's leader to Vienna in February 1949, and M. Rakosi then announced the formation of a "National Independence Party" and the institution of a "single list" of candidates to fight the May elections. With those elections democratic government in Hungary can be said to have ended.

C. Czechoslovakia

Under the "Kosice Program" of 1945 a National Front of four Czech and two Slovak parties was allowed. First steps towards control of the Socialist parties by the Communists had been taken during the war, when the exiled leaders of the Czech Social Democratic Party in London and Moscow accepted, for the sake of allied unity, the leadership of the fellow-traveller, M. Fierlinger. In the first National Government set up after the war in 1945, the Communists took charge of the Ministry of the Interior, as well as of the Ministries of Information and Agriculture. The Social Democrats, however, at first failed to respond to Communist pressure and in November 1947 they did not re-elect M. Fierlinger as chairman of the Party on account of his pro-Communist policy. In Slovakia the Social Democrats had merged with the Communists in 1944 but they regained their independence in 1947. It was possibly because they had failed to secure the "unity" of the non-Communist parties that the Communists organized their coup of February, 1948. M. Fierlinger, with the help of a few collaborators and the armed intervention of the Security Police, seized the Social Democratic Headquarters in Prague, exiled the secretary-general of the Party, M. Vilim, and became chairman of the Communist-appointed "Action Committee" in the party. The two parties were finally merged at a "United Congress" in Prague on the 27th June, 1948. The Slovak Democratic Party had already been eliminated. In 1947 a big "anti-State plot" was discovered, which led to the arrest of two of its leaders.

The Czech Government is still nominally a National Front administration, but in fact none of the subsidiary parties dares to criticize

the Communist core, each being supervised from within by a Communist-dominated "Action Committee".

D. Bulgaria

Bulgaria's position in 1944 was different from that of the other Axis satellites, for she was not at war with the Soviet Union. Before the Communist Party could gain control it was essential that Soviet troops should "liberate" the country. The time-table here is significant. The Soviet Union declared war on Bulgaria on the 5th September, 1944, in spite of the fact that the Bulgarian Government under M. Bagrianov had asked the United Kingdom and the United States Governments for an armistice before the end of August; the interim Bulgarian Government (which had succeeded M. Bagrianov on the 1st September) asked for an armistice on the 6th and declared war on Germany on the 8th, the day on which Marshal Tolvukhin's forces arrived in the country; and on the 9th September the Communists had already formed a Fatherland Front composed of Zveno Republicans, Agrarians, Social Democrats and Communists. The Communists first attacked the Agrarian Party, which had the support of two-thirds of the population, and was strongly pro-Western. They imposed new executive committees on the Party and arranged for a new leader to be "demanded" in place of Dr. G.M. Dimitrov, who found refuge in the West. Dimitrov was succeeded by Petkov, who was later tried and executed. He was succeeded by the neo-Communist M. Obbov, who was himself turned out two years later. Since then the Agrarian Party, like the Polish United Peasant Party, has continued to exist under fellow-travelling leaders as a bait for the Bulgarian peasant population.

The fall of the Social Democratic Party followed swiftly. It was purged and then merged with the Communist Workers' Party on the 11th August, 1948. In November 1948 Lulchev and other Social Democratic deputies were tried and condemned and the last nucleus of independent Socialists was eliminated. The Zveno Republican Party disappeared in the spring of 1949.

E. Roumania

In October 1944 the Social Democrats agreed to join the Communists in a National Democratic Front against the National Peasants and the Liberals, on condition that their freedom of action should not be impaired. When a predominantly Communist "front" was imposed on the country by Russian orders in March 1945 the Socialists remained in the Government with three Ministers drawn from the Left wing of the party. The Communists fostered disagreements inside the party and infiltrated fellow-travellers into the Central Committee in accordance with their usual tactics. The merger of the Social Democrats and the Communists took place in February 1948 when the Socialist Right-wing leader, Petrescu, was arrested.

The destruction of the Peasant Party also followed classic lines. The Communists staged a trial of the Party's leader, Maniu, and then established an artificial peasant group and suppressed the original Party, allegedly at its own wish, on the 22nd January, 1949.

IV. "UNITED FRONT" TACTICS OUTSIDE THE SOVIET ORBIT

A. The same Communist tactics can be traced today, at various stages of development, in those countries outside the Soviet orbit which are considered "sufficiently advanced". Such activity has recently increased, possibly as the result of a Cominform resolution of November 1949 which stated that the formation of "democratic governments" is the ultimate objective of these tactics. "On the basis of successes achieved in creating unity in the ranks of the working-class movement, and in the consolidation of the democratic forces, it will become possible to develop the struggle in the capitalist countries for the formation of governments which would rally all patriotic forces opposing the enslavement of their countries by U.S. imperialism; governments which would adopt a policy of a stable peace between the peoples, put an end to the armaments race and raise the living standards of the working people".

The Leninist-Stalinist theory quoted in Section II has been underlined by Communist leaders outside the Soviet orbit. For instance, Thorez says (*Oeuvres*, Book 2, Vol. I, page 88):

"There is no contradiction in the fact that, on the one hand, you may be fighting in a more systematic, intelligent and coherent fashion the policy and organization of the social-fascist leaders and on the other simultaneously and continually be developing united front tactics with Socialist workmen. The first condition is to establish the necessary distinction between Social Democrat leaders working for imperialism and the workers deceived by them".

Similarly a new program for the Japanese Communist Party, published in the Cominform Journal on the 23rd November, 1951, concludes that:

"The peaceful way of liberation and democratic transformation of Japan is the way of deception".

The statement then calls for an alliance of workers of all kinds, small businessmen, manufacturers and merchants as well as "all progressive forces in Japan, irrespective of social status, and all the more or less progressive political parties and progressive intelligentsia".

B. The following examples show briefly how these tactics are being applied in various countries today.

1. Finland. Early in January 1952 the People's Democratic Press called for greater co-operation between the S.K.P. (Finnish Communist Party) and the S.K.D.L. (Communist-dominated Folk Democratic League) in order to gain support from Social Democratic waverers and non-political trade unionists.

2. Spain. Dolores Ibarruri, 'La Pasionaria', recently demanded the "unity of all republican forces to combat Franco", according to Pravda. Fernand Claudin, in Trud on the 2nd February, 1952, declared that the Spanish Communist Party is "trying to form a wide national front".

3. Greece. The Communist Party is banned in Greece and tactics therefore follow a slightly different pattern. In August 1951 Passalides, leader of the so-called Socialist Party of Greece, founded a new political group, the E.D.A. (United Democratic Left) consisting of the crypto-Communist "Democratic Rally" and a Left-wing Liberal group (Koryvskhades). It attempted without success to win the support of General Plastiras, head of the Progressive Liberals and now Prime Minister. The "Free Greece" radio believed to be in Bucharest, which was supporting the group, then denounced Plastiras as "the most dangerous enemy of the people and the country". The trial of 29 Communists accused of espionage in February 1952 showed beyond doubt that the E.D.A. was a cover for the Communist Party, who are working underground within the country under direction from outside.

4. Italy. The Italian Socialist Party is split between those who wish to form a united front with the Communists and those who would prefer independence of action. In connection with the forthcoming municipal elections, the Italian Communists are forming local groups, ostensibly independent of the Party, whose object is to secure the votes of as many Left-wing waverers as possible.

5. France. The Communists are not making great progress with the formation of political fronts, since the other parties refuse to co-operate. They are, therefore, concentrating their efforts on the trade unions. A pamphlet on "Communist Policy", edited by the Party for "elementary Communist schools", in January 1949 described the objective of the movement as "the formation of a government of democratic union in which the French Communist Party will assume the responsibilities entrusted to it by six million

French voters". An article in the March 1952 issue of Democratique Nouvelle, which is edited by the French Communist leader Duclos, claims that some progress has been made towards local alliances between Socialists and Communists.

6. India. The fundamental feature of the Indian Communist Party's tactics during the recent elections was the establishment of a united front with non-Communist Left-wing parties. This policy, however, received a setback on the 10th March, 1952, when Dr. Singh, President of the United Socialist Organization in India, ordered his followers not to join the Democratic Front sponsored by the Communists. He claimed that his organization was already an "established All-India Leftist Front".

7. Japan. In March 1951 it was reported that leaders of Socialist Committees had expressed support for the Communist call for united action to fight an "overall peace treaty" and that some Democratic and Liberal elements were also prepared to subscribe.

8. Chile. An alliance has been formed between the Communist and Socialist parties in support of the Socialist candidate for the forthcoming presidential elections, Senor Allende. The latter is a member of the Preparatory Committee of the Inter-American "Peace" Conference.

V. "UNITED FRONT" TECHNIQUE IN COLONIAL SPHERES

A. The "united front" is no longer confined to the national political sphere. It has been considerably extended. Stalin first enumerated the immediate tasks confronting revolutionary movements in "capitalistically developed colonial and dependent countries", in his treatise on "The Tasks of the University of the Peoples of the East" (1925). These tasks were:

1. to win over the best elements of the working class to the side of Communism and to form independent Communist parties;
2. to set up a national revolutionary bloc of workers, peasants and revolutionary intelligentsia against the bloc of compromising national bourgeoisie and the imperialists;
3. to guarantee the hegemony of the proletariat in this bloc;
4. to fight for the liberation of the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie from the influence of the compromising national bourgeoisie;

5. to secure the linking of the national liberation movement with the proletarian movement of the advanced countries."

The following examples show that these directives remain unchanged.

B. Far East.

According to the Cominform Journal of 27th January, 1950, national liberation movements "have reached a significant stage in the Far East, owing to the victory of Chinese people". The three stages of liberation were described as united front, armed struggle and finally political struggle. China, Vietnam and Malaya were quoted to show that armed struggle is the decisive stage in the liberation movement. Political struggle was described as "rallying the working people and all progressive forces by the Communist Parties, trade unions and all democratic organizations". The following examples show the stages reached in:

1. Korea: United front formed June 1946, reorganized June 1949; liberation army formed 1945; armed struggle started June 1950.

2. Vietnam: United front first formed in 1941, consolidated in November 1950 when a joint front was formed between Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia; armed struggle began September 1945.

3. Burma: Attempts to establish a united front with Karens have so far failed; armed struggle began 1948.

4. Malaya: Repeated minor attempts to form a united front unsuccessful; armed struggle began July 1948.

In the Philippines, Indonesia and Thailand, attempts to form united fronts have so far been unsuccessful.

C. Iran.

The Cominform Journal on the 17th August, 1951, urged that the Tudeh Party should fight for the unity of the working class and create a broad front to "struggle against the British and American imperialists and their lackeys". The Tudeh Party is proscribed and to create a front it has had to rely on a number of mass organizations under its control: the National Society for the Struggle Against Imperialism (NSSI); the National Society for Help to the Peasantry (NSHP); the Partisans of Peace (PP); the Democratic Youth Organization (DYO); the Iran Freedom Society (IFS); and the Society for Struggle Against Illiteracy (SSI). The first two, with the Society of Azerbaijanis, organized a Left-wing coalition in January 1952 for election purposes; the first and fourth staged joint demonstrations on the "International Day of Struggle Against Colonial Regimes"; and the NSSI includes in

its program the reinstatement of the Tudeh Party.

D. Syria and Lebanon

The Communist Parties are proscribed in both countries. They have, therefore, attempted to form People's National Fronts through the trade unions and the youth and women's organizations. In Syria the Communists have won the co-operation of the Arab Socialist Party.

E. Tunisia.

On the 25th February, 1952, Moscow Radio announced that the Communist Party had set up a committee, on which the bourgeois National Party and various trade unions were represented, in order to form a Tunisian National Front. This project will doubtless be checked by the recent French arrests of Communist and nationalist leaders.

F. Algeria.

A United Front was formed in July 1951 which included the Algerian Communist Party, the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties (MTDL), the Manifesto Party (UDMA) and the Ulemas, or unofficial Muslim religious leaders. André Marty has pledged the support of the French Communist Party, of which he is Secretary, for revolutionary movements in Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria (Cominform Journal of 22nd February, 1952).

G. Nepal.

In "Crossroads" of the 31st August, 1951, it was announced that a united front had been formed comprising the National Praja Parishad, the Communist Party, Akhil Nepal Sangh, the All-Trade Union Congress and other parties. The Communist Party has since been declared illegal and the united front has collapsed.

H. Cyprus.

The Communists have tried to exploit the movement for Enosis (union) with Greece for their own purposes, but the Enosis movement has refused to cooperate.

VI. "UNITED FRONT" TECHNIQUE IN TRADE UNIONS AND WORKERS' ORGANIZATIONS

In his treatise Left-wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder (1920) Lenin said:

"It is necessary...to use any ruse, cunning, unlawful method, evasion, concealment of the truth, only so as to get into the

trade unions, to remain in them, and to carry on Communist work within them at all costs".

The Communist aim is that penetration of the trade unions should be followed by the unity of all workers in a single Communist-controlled organization. They attempt to achieve this by constant appeals to the workers to form alliances. For instance, the General Council of the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions, at its meeting in Berlin in November, 1951, adopted a resolution which contained the following passage:

"At the present moment the essential tasks of the W.F.T.U. must be:

to give impulse to the struggle of the workers and to widen the foundations of united action in order to satisfy their vital demands;

to assist trade union action to develop support for the national liberation movements in colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries;

to rally the forces of the workers to maintain peace..."

The resolution went on to stress the importance of achieving united action and suggested that in pursuance of this aim trade union organizations should set up "united action committees" in factories as well as "trade union co-ordination committees". At the same meeting Bepoit Frachon made it clear that in order to attain such unity of action it was necessary to win over the workers of different affiliations; one way of achieving this was not to insist that they should adopt the entire W.F.T.U. program if there were points with which they disagreed.

The application of this technique can be traced in international and national trade union organizations. For instance, the European Metal-Workers held a conference in Vienna in February, 1952, the aim of which was, according to the W.F.T.U. organ World Trade Union Movement, to "strengthen the unity of action of these workers for improved living and working conditions, for the protection of their rights, for national independence and peace". Such resolutions are designed to appeal to workers' legitimate grievances, but the ultimate aims are entirely political. For instance, the Metal-Workers' Conference adopted resolutions appealing for the success of the Moscow Economic Conference, condemning the Schuman Plan and advocating the creation of "peace" committees in factories.

Other examples of the same technique are the appeal of the Administrative Committee of the International Trade Union of Seamen, Inland

Waterways Workers, Fishermen and Port Workers, issued in Warsaw on 19th December, 1950, which called on seamen and dockers throughout the world to unite; and a similar appeal to transport workers throughout the world by the meeting of the Trade Unions International of Land and Transport Workers at Vienna in July, 1951.

VII. "UNITED FRONT" TECHNIQUE IN OTHER COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Communist "united front" tactics in other international organizations follow closely those used by the W.F.T.U., that is to say, these organizations try to attract individuals and organizations who themselves have no Communist affiliations. This is chiefly done by adopting programs and appeals based on general humanitarian principles, which are likely to attract well-meaning people unaware of the political implications of the sponsoring organization.

The activities of the World "Peace" Council is a good example of this technique. For instance, at a meeting in Vienna in November, 1951, the Council adopted a resolution calling on "all groups, movements and individuals concerned for the preservation of peace to work together in a common effort to secure the conclusion of a peace pact." The Council also frequently makes appeals to specific groups of people, irrespective of their political affiliations. At its Berlin meeting in March, 1951, it recommended that the secretariat should "do everything necessary in order that peace-loving scientists should propose the inclusion in the charters of the international and scientific organizations of which they are members of a demand that their scientific discoveries be used solely for peace".

The political aims of this technique are clearly to create a nucleus of people throughout the world, whether Communist or not, who will come to regard the Soviet Union as a guardian of peace and who will undermine both the moral and physical resistance of the non-Communist world to Soviet Russia.

February, 1953

Ogonyok, No. 7 2-15-53, p.8

Stencil No. 60

ARABS ARE FOR INDEPENDENCE AND PEACE!

By R. Arutyunov.

"Before leaving Damascus I was visited by a certain British lord, who was in Syria at the time, accompanied by a British Embassy official. Painting a most gloomy picture of what awaited me in the Soviet Union and China, he tried in every way to dissuade me from the journey. 'Where are you going?' asked the lord. 'Why?'

"And for the tenth time he undertook to prove to me that in the Soviet Union mosques have been closed, religion universally banned, etc. But this argument did not help, either. I was firmly determined to go. I had already received an invitation to the Congress of Peace Partisans of Asia and the Pacific. The way to Peking lay via Moscow, and this merely increased my desire to set forth quickly."

My conversation partner broke off the narrative and slowly stroked the gray beard framing a face dusky from constant southern heat.

Sheik Muhammed al-Ashmar is an eminent religious and public figure in Syria. His name is well known throughout the Arab East. He was one of the leaders of the Syrian popular revolt against the French colonizers in 1925 to 1927 and took part in anti-imperialist demonstrations by the popular masses of Palestine in 1936.

Muhammed al-Ashmar is now 63. Before arriving in the great capital--as the Sheik calls Moscow--he traveled a tremendous way to join his voice to the mighty peace partisans' movement throughout the world on behalf of the Arabs of Syria and other Arab countries.

When asked what had induced him to undertake such a long journey, the Sheik replied:

"Fifty million Arabs thirst for peace and aspire to freedom. The word 'peace' does not leave the people's lips today, and thus it is everywhere: in the modest tent of the Bedouin, in the desert and in the mud hut of the fellah, as well as in the family of the town artisan. Peace demands sacrifices, and it is essential to sacrifice everything to make peace a reality. I am glad that I may serve this great aim. Moslems reject war, according to the precepts of their religion, and condemn those who wants to instigate it," the Sheik concludes.

Muhammed al-Ashmar told how the ancient culture of the Arab countries has been trampled by the European colonizers and the Arab countries themselves thrown back many years in their development. The imperialists of Britain and France are trying in every way to perpetuate this situation of the Arab peoples.

"The British," Muhammed al-Ashmar said, "have perfected the art of lies and hypocrisy. The devil himself could be instructed in this art by the British."

Today the yoke of the American monopolies has been added to the oppression of the British and French imperialists. They have seized and are shamelessly stealing the oil resources of Saudi Arabia and the Bahrain Islands. They have laid hands on the oil deposits in Iraq and in the Arab principalities of Kuwait and Katar.

Fabulous profits from the exploitation of the natural resources and populations of Arab countries flow into the coffers of British and American businessmen.

"These strangers have never felt at ease in the Arab East. It will not be a mistake if I say that for decades not a day has passed without the people's rising up against the foreign usurpers."

In these words of my interlocutor there sounded the inextinguishable hatred which the peoples of Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Egypt and other Arab countries feel for the foreign colonizers. And each year the peoples' struggle for national liberation flares up more powerfully in the Arab East. The ground which is drenched with oil and the blood of Arab patriots burns beneath the feet of the colonizers.

"Today the Arab East is a seething caldron from which it is becoming more and more difficult for the foreigners to draw out tasty morsels," the Sheik commented.

The British and American imperialists are trying with all their might to kill the feeling of sympathy in the hearts of Arabs for the peoples of the Soviet Union, China and the people's democracies. They play on the religious feelings of the Moslem population in Arab countries and, by distorting the facts, attempt in their propaganda to present the position of Moslems in the Soviet Union in a false light. This, however, provokes the anger of the Arabs, even of those who are not of a political inclination.

"In the Soviet Union and China," Muhammed al-Ashmar said, "I decided to see everything with my own eyes. And I did indeed see things which no liar will be able to dispute."

Peking. At the Congress of Peace Partisans of Asia and the Pacific Sheikh Muhammed al-Ashmar was elected to the presidium.

"This was a great honor for me and for all Arabs," he said.

At the conclusion of the congress' work the Sheikh toured Peking and its environs, made trips to various Chinese towns and visited many villages. .

It was already after midnight. The Sheikh continued to talk about China. He was struck by the enthusiasm which has taken hold of all the Chinese people, who, in answer to their government's call, are building canals, roads, bridges and cities.

"Mao Tse-tung is with the people and the people are with him!" the Sheikh said with conviction. "Present-day China is a great nation and a mighty state. It has grown up from ashes and ruins in the struggle against the foreigners."

When referring to the Korean war, the Sheikh shook his head disapprovingly.

"In Peking I saw on public display bombs which had been dropped by the Americans in China. Among these were bombs containing deadly infection. I saw the written testimony of American fliers. And I am convinced that the Americans are using germ weapons in China and Korea. No person in his right mind can approve such deeds, which offend the human conscience."

* * *

Gently applying the brakes, the chauffeur opened the door of the car and we got out on the asphalt highway. A cool wind caressed us. We stood on the Lenin Hills. We went to the very edge of the road. From here the tremendous panorama of Moscow was opened before our eyes.

After gazing at it, our Syrian guest drew attention to some bluish-white lights which flashed out here and there. Indeed there were hundreds and perhaps thousands of them.

The Sheikh asked: "What is that?"

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"That is electric welding on the new building sites of Moscow," I replied.

"All of Moscow, all of your country is being built up," the Sheik remarked. "This feeling never leaves me in your great city. When I was first told that you had begun to build a canal in the desert over a distance of 1100 kilometers, I confess I did not believe that it was feasible. Now I do believe it. I believe it because only a person who wishes for peace could construct his home with such love. And you want peace; I see that clearly."

"What about the British lord and his tales about the position of Moslems in the Soviet Union?"

"The British lie and the Americans lie," my companion replied. "I did not need even to go farther than Moscow to be convinced of this. In Moscow I met and talked personally with adherents of the Moslem religion in the U.S.S.R. You have full religious freedom; no one is persecuting the Moslems. I myself said my prayers in the mosque in the capital of the Soviet state. No one prevented this. The Imam---the priest of the Moscow Mosque---introduced me to many Moslems who live in Moscow. They live just as well as all the Soviet people and have full rights. When they told me about this, they praised the leader of the Soviet peoples, Stalin, with all their hearts."

It was growing darker. Lying before us Moscow glittered with millions of lights. The Sheik's eyes lit up with a smile which had become familiar to me. His thoughts had returned to his native Syria.

"Arabs have no reason to be at enmity with the Soviet Union!" said Muhammed al-Ashmar quietly but assuredly. "I believe that the ties of unbreakable friendship between our people will grow stronger day by day. This is the end to which I shall dedicate myself when I return to my homeland."

Pravda, 2-28-53, pp.2-3 PATRIOTIC UNITED FRONT

Stencil No. 59

By B. Ponomarev.

The historic speech by the great leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin, at the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a program for the struggle of the working people in all countries for peace, against the warmongers, for national independence of peoples and for democracy. ...

1. The Bourgeoisie Sells Nations' Rights and Independence for Dollars. ... There was a time when the bourgeoisie came forth in the struggle against feudalism under the banner of defense of nations' rights and independence. Now, however, the situation has fundamentally changed. The guns of Wall Street are not the guns of the French bourgeoisie at Valmy, the thunder of which was so enthusiastically welcomed by Goethe when he stated that they "proclaimed a new era," the era of bourgeois democracy's victory over feudal reaction. The guns of American imperialism are directed at suppressing people's national independence, at liquidating bourgeois democracy and at carrying out a policy of violent imperialist reaction, ...

The ruling hierarchy of capitalist countries is following not a national but an antinational course in the sphere of foreign and domestic policy, in the sphere of national culture. ...

Many important questions, the decision of which was for many centuries the inalienable right of an independent state--questions of war and peace, of the composition and number of armed forces, of the right to command these forces independently, of military appropriations and the budget as a whole, of the level of industrial production--are now being handed over by the bourgeoisie of West European countries to American monopolists. These questions are now being decided not by the West European governments but by the emissaries of American billionaires, and they are clearly not being decided in the peoples' interests.

The bourgeoisie is more and more strongly tightening the American noose around the peoples' necks, selling the last remnants of national sovereignty. A vivid expression of the bourgeoisie's policy is the convention on the statute of the armed forces of Atlantic Pact countries and also the treaty on the so-called European Defense Community. ...

These agreements are nothing but acts of national treason. ...

The bourgeoisie has created an ideology of national treason, the ideology of cosmopolitanism. From day to day a multitude of reactionary statesmen, publicists, writers and journalists harp on the view that the idea of national sovereignty is supposedly obsolete, that it is necessary to abandon it and that people should reject national independence for the "general good," for an all-European supranational organization, i.e., for U.S. world domination.

The lackeys of imperialism, the right-wing socialists, turn themselves inside out to debunk the idea of national sovereignty, to instill in the working people the pernicious ideas of cosmopolitanism and to destroy the noble sentiment of patriotism in them. Right-wing social democrats have made the ideology of national treason the basis of their work. Right-wing socialists, in addition to their old role as traitors to the working class, are now appearing in the role of traitors to their nations, to their states, and as agents of American imperialism.

2. Standard-Bearers of National Independence.---The toiling masses in capitalist countries are becoming more and more convinced of the bourgeoisie's national treason, since they are experiencing the baneful consequences of this treason. The masses see in practice that the Communists consistently expose the treachery of the bourgeoisie and right-wing socialists, who are groveling before the American imperialists. The Communists are fighting selflessly for the independence of countries and for democratic freedoms. ...

The Communists are telling peoples in their countries that their sacred patriotic obligation is to defend the homeland from imperialist slavery, to defend their countries' national sovereignty and to save the nation from being drawn into a disastrous war. ...

The Communists work among all strata of the population and extend their hand to all who are ready to oppose dollar dictation, who value national sovereignty and who do not wish to travel the path of national betrayal. ...

The joint appeal, published Jan. 28, of three parties--the French Communist Party, the German Communist Party and the German Socialist Unity Party--to the peoples of the these countries summons the German and French peoples to fighting solidarity and shows the only correct path for a settlement of the German question, on which peace in Europe depends. The appeal of the three parties states: "Our people's joint struggle for peace will restore unity to Germany and security and independence to France. The existence of a peace-loving, democratic, reunited Germany is the best guarantee of France's security and the security of other European peoples." ...

The Italian Communist Party is waging a selfless and forceful struggle for the Italian people's independence and freedom and against American imperialism's policy of enslaving Italy. ...

The Communist Parties of Britain, Norway, Denmark and other countries are unmasking the criminal policy of the bourgeoisie's ruling circles, which permit the stationing of foreign forces in a country in peacetime, and they are demanding an end to the arms race and an independent policy, a policy of friendship among peoples. ...

The Indian Communist Party is summoning millions of working people, the working class, the peasantry, the working intelligentsia, the middle classes, as well as the national bourgeoisie interested in the country's freedom, to rally in a united democratic front for winning true national independence of their country, for liberating the peasants from the feudal lords' oppression and for improving the working people's life.

The Japanese people, who have fallen into the misfortune of the American occupation, are in a more difficult situation than at any time in their history. The Japanese Communist Party is fighting for the formation of a united, national liberation, democratic front of all progressive Japanese forces in the struggle for national liberation from the American occupiers and against the transformation of Japan into a springboard for war in the Far East. The Communist Party program states that the workers and peasants will be the main force in this liberation struggle. The artisans and small traders, small and middle employers, and also a large section of the Japanese industrialists and merchants, suffering from the occupation regime and laws of the reactionary government, will join their alliance.

The Communist Parties of Latin America head the struggle of the masses for national independence and against the oppression of American imperialism in these countries' economic and political life.

The Communist and peoples' parties of Near and Middle Eastern and North African countries are marching in the front ranks of the people, who recently have been rising more and more forcefully to the struggle against imperialist enslavement. ...

3. For a United Front of National Independence....An important condition for the success of the peoples' struggle for national independence is the unity of all healthy, vital forces in the nations around the working class and its vanguard, the Communist and Workers' Parties. In solving this task the Communists rely on objective laws of social development. The

operation of the basic economic law of present-day capitalism, discovered by J. V. Stalin, makes extreme the contradictions between the main masses of people and the bourgeoisie, whose wealth has reached colossal dimensions, particularly in the U.S.A. ...

The Communist Parties are defending national sovereignty, struggling in order that all questions in a given state can be decided without interference by American imperialism and in the people's interests. They are striving for an end to the arms race, are supporting every development of economic and trade relations with countries in the democratic camp, are combating rule by American monopolies in their countries' industry and trade and are struggling in order that national industry not curtail peaceful production, but provide work for the people in their countries.

In opposition to the bourgeoisie, which is destroying national culture by permitting the American plunderers to flood countries with literature and art which corrupt the spirit of the people, the Communist Parties come forth as protectors of the national culture by defending the progressive and democratic traditions of this culture.

The great strength of the Communists' patriotism is that their defense of countries' national independence does not contradict, but unites with their struggle for friendship among peoples, for lasting and close friendly relations with peoples of the democratic camp, headed by the great Soviet Union. In this is expressed the unity and indivisibility of the national and international tasks of the working class of various countries at the present stage. Patriotism thus unites with the principle of proletarian internationalism.

The Communist Parties' policy of defense of peace, democratic freedoms and national independence is meeting the support of increasingly broader strata of the population. The political army of Communist Parties is being formed constantly. It is now immeasurably broader and stronger than before the second world war. The trend of the iron battalions of defenders of the peoples' national independence, headed by the heroic Communist vanguard, resounds more and more loudly in all countries. At the same time the ruling bourgeois parties, who are footing the bill for the sale of national independence are more and more being deprived of influence among the masses. For example, in Italy the ruling clerical party of de Gasperi lost more than 4,000,000 votes in the elections to bodies of local self-government in 1951-1952, and the influence of the Italian Communist Party and the Italian Socialist Party which joined in a united front with it, increased considerably.

By defending their country's freedom and independence and the material and spiritual interests of the working class and of all city and country toilers, the Communists are creating fighting unity among the country's national forces for a rebuff to imperialist foreign enslavers. The united front of action of the working class is the basis of this unity. The experience of the international workers' movement shows that this unity can be achieved only by waging an energetic, implacable struggle against splitters, provocateurs and agents of American imperialism--the right-wing socialist leaders.

The logic of historical development is such that the further the bourgeoisie and its social democratic followers travel the path dictated by their American masters, the path of national betrayal, the more forcefully will the masses turn aside from them and rally around the Communist Parties. .

"Communists Are in Vanguard of Peoples' Struggle for National Independence"